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Bare Base Concept as Alternative Strategies Dealing with Threats in the Air Territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The strength of the main weaponry system tools (Alutsista) or defense equipment owned by the Indonesian National Army (TNI), Air Force (AU) is still minimal and has not met the Minimum Strength (Minimum Essence of Force/MEF). TNI AU Alutsista in the form of aircraft, radar, missiles and cannons is used to carry out its duties in upholding the law and maintaining security in airspace national jurisdictions in accordance with the provisions of national law and international law which have been ratified from potential threats, especially threats from other countries through the air media. This study aims to provide an overview of the application of Bare Base Concept (BBC) as an alternative strategy of the Indonesian Air Force in dealing with threats in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) airspace, using normative research methods, which is done by researching library materials or based on secondary data. The results showed that the BBC was one of the alternative strategies of the Indonesian Air Force that was effectively applied in dealing with threats in the Republic of Indonesia airspace. BBC is a concept of airbase preparation with the support of facilities and minimum guarding, which can be intensified at any time so that it can support optimal air operations.

Keywords: Bare Base, Strategies Dealing, Air Territory

INTRODUCTION

In the regional perspective, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia abbreviated as NKRI is a country that has an area from Sabang to Merauke, covering land, sea, and air. Indonesia is referred to as the Archipelago State by characterizing the archipelago as having territory and boundaries as well as its rights stipulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Republik Indonesia, 1945). Indonesia as an archipelagic country has land borders with three neighboring countries (Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, and Timor Leste) and 11 sea borders with neighboring countries (India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Philippines, Palau, Federal State of Micronesia, Papua New Guinea, East Timor and Australia). Indonesia with its natural wealth is known by the world as a promising country and determines the survival of citizens of the world. Therefore, Indonesia is in great demand or contested by countries with an abundance of natural resources in Indonesia (Nainggolan, 2004).

Airspace is air space over the land and waters of the Republic of Indonesia or air sovereignty over the land and waters of Indonesia (Article 1 Number 2 of Act Number 1 of 2009 concerning Aviation, in Weber, 2012). According to the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO, signed in Chicago on December 7, 1944)

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airspace is one of the main pillars of international law that regulates airspace. It is stipulated in Article 1 that, each state party recognizes that each member country has complete sovereignty over the air space above its territory. The territory referred to in Article 2 is the land area and territorial waters bordering it which are under the sovereignty of power, protection or mandate from that country.

The airspace is very important for a country's sovereignty. Indonesia as a sovereign country has approximately three-thirds of its territory as air. Thus, attention to the airspace as an area of state sovereignty should naturally be given priority in proportion to the land and sea regions. On the other hand, the airspace of a country's sovereignty, in the review of "national security" and also at the same time in the economic context or "national prosperity" is seen in the course of world history.

The fatal attack by the Japanese air fleet on the position of the United States (US) military base at Pearl Harbor was the result of the neglect by the US military in maintaining the country's security in its sovereign airspace that was easily penetrated by the Japanese. In the book "The Future of War," the attack is said to be "The origin of American Military Failure." The past September 11, 2001, was also one illustration of the negligence of a country as powerful as the United States in maintaining the security of its sovereign airspace. Although not coming from outside his own country, the air strike of the World Trade Center (WTC) twin towers in New York City and Arlington Country (The Pentagon) in Virginia which took thousands of lives has become a "milestone" of the thought of how important the sovereign airspace of a country must always be maintained.

It is true what was revealed by the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Ir. Sukarno, in the postulate that was made during the commemoration of the anniversary of the Indonesian National Army, Air Force (TNI-AU) in April 1955 by stating "*Rise the air to carry out the national will because national power in the air is a decisive factor in modern war.*" Likewise, the postulate was delivered by the first Air Force Chief of Staff, Mr. Marshal TNI, S. Surya Dharma, "*Continue to develop your wings for the glory of this beloved homeland.*" Become a true officer and defender of the Fatherland ". Statement of Ir. Sukarno and Surya Dharma, suggest that in fact, Indonesia is aware that air control must be a priority in the motto of the Air Force known as "*Abhibuti Antarikshe*" (excellence in the air is our goal). This motto is the inspiration for the Air Force to improve and develop its defense equipment (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b; Rahman, Anwar, & Sumari, 2018).

However, there are still problems with the determination of the country's borders that are intensively being negotiated, and there are still those that have not been negotiated. Such conditions become a form of threats, challenges, obstacles that can interfere with the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Border issues that arise from outside (external) are: the existence of various violations of land, sea and air territories of the Republic of Indonesia sovereignty, so that here is prone to illegal activities, such as 1) illegal logging, 2) illegal fishing (exploitation of resources wild sea power), 3) illegal trading (illegal trade / black market), 4) illegal trafficking (human trafficking), and trans-national crime (drug trafficking) transboundary organized crime (transborder organized criminal activity) and financial crime.

This is a form of factual threat around the border which can change into a potential threat if the government is not wise in dealing with the problem. While the border problems that arise

from within (internal) are: the level of welfare and the level of education of human resources (HR) that are still low, the lack of infrastructure facilities and others so that it can cause vulnerability and influence from neighboring countries. Potential threats that are supported by the development of high technology methods and tools are expected to increase in the future. These potentials and threats can be in the form of terrorism, communal conflict, transnational crime, crimes against state assets, especially in the territorial jurisdiction of the Indonesian sea and border areas, as well as the development of a variety of conventional criminal acts.

Threats and disruptions to state sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national safety are closely related to the strategic geographical position, natural resources, and HR related to the incomplete development of national character. Associated with Indonesia's strategic position, triggering a struggle for influence by other countries that have various interests. Meanwhile, the abundant source of natural wealth is a very basic need for countries that have an interest in supporting the survival of their country. For this reason, a sovereign country like Indonesia ideally needs the main weapon system that is strong or minimally adequate to defend its nation and nation from various threats. The problem is that if it is not yet possible due to Indonesia's not yet strong economic conditions, a strategy is needed for the Air Force to carry out their duties in guarding the aerospace against potential threats. One alternative strategy for the Air Force is to implement the **Bare Base Concept** abbreviated as BBC (Indonesia, 1945; Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, n.d., 2015a, 2015b). Based on this, this article aims to analyze and explain the BBC as an Alternative Strategy for the Air Force in dealing with potential threats in the Republic of Indonesia airspace.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The current global political and security constellation is still influenced by the dynamics of competition in the major powers in the world in securing their respective interests. This is understandable because the governance of international relations is increasingly open and complex so that each country requires temporary and cross-ideological alliances in the face of its strategic rivals. The alliance between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Russia which are communist socialists are so strong as to confront the forces of the United States (US) and its allies. Likewise, the alliance between the power of liberals led by the US and Gulf Islamic countries to stem the Islamic State's maneuver in the Middle East region.

In addition, the development of radical religious and sectarian groups in various regions, such as those carried out by groups that are like Al-Qaeda, such as the International State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in Iraq and Syria which have social impacts, including the rampant immigrant exodus to various countries and does not rule out the formation of ISIS can trigger the development of radical militant groups in other Muslim-majority countries, including in Indonesia. To deal with the phenomenon and dynamics of the development of the global environment, the national defense strategy is necessary to maintain the sovereignty of the State and the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

The word "strategy" comes from the Greek strategy which is defined as "the art of the general" or the art of a Commander who is usually used in warfare. The nature of a strategy is a way of achieving the goal by using available means of strength and infrastructure (Daraba, Cahaya, Guntur, Aslinda, & Akib, 2018; Hax & Majluf, 1996; Umar, 2001). Strategy is a science and art in the decision-making process of the main elements of a strategy, which includes Ends, namely goals, goals, objectives, targets, Ways, namely the course of actions, concept, method, and Mean, namely the means of strength, resources, potential (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, n.d., 2015b). The TNI strategy is the science and art of empowering all the Strengths and Capabilities of the TNI to realize the success of the TNI Main Duty (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b). Therefore, in order to achieve the success of the TNI Main Duty, the TNI Strategy was also carried out through the Development Strategy and Development of TNI Strengths and Capabilities, Strategies for deploying TNI Strengths and Capabilities, Strategies for Using TNI Strengths and Capabilities, and TNI's coordination and cooperation strategy with relevant agencies (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b).

Karl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) in Kelly (2014) and Umar (2001) argued that the notion of the strategy was knowledge of the use of battle to win the war. However, in this modern age, the use of the term strategy is no longer limited to the concept or art of a Commander in war but has been used extensively in almost all fields of science. Whereas according to language, strategy means the science and art of using all the resources of the nations to carry out certain policies in war and peace (Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008).

Understanding the concept of strategy, need a comprehensive presentation that is not only directed at one particular object. Like the use of strategic concepts in the past that focused on the concept of war alone. When viewed from the study of military strength, the strategy is to be a bridge between military forces and achieving political goals. In other words, the strategy is considered as "... the use that is made of force and the threat of force of the ends of policy ..." (Gray, 1999). This departs from Clausewitz's approach that defines strategy as a form of war goal engagements. Thus, an explanation of the definition of strategy always leads to the relationship between military power and political objectives. This strategic concept is then used as a guide to the application of a country's policies.

Referring to Clausewitz and Howard's thoughts, Gray (1999) proposes several categories or dimensions that explain the concept of strategy, namely the first strategy dimension in preparation for War category which includes economics and logistics, organization, military administration, information and intelligence, doctrine and theory strategy, and technology. Second, the strategy dimension in the category of Proper War consists of military operations, leadership (in politics and military), geography, friction, and opponents. These dimensions are dimensions that have a contribution in the preparation and implementation of the strategy.

The first category shows the preparation of war, which is a combination of several important dimensions, namely the economic resources of the existing government supply to drive military machines, directed by strategic organizations, recruited, armed and trained by the military administration, running according to information intelligence. The first category is an important organizational dimension in providing institutional security in the future, in addition to its duties as a planner, resistance, and strength. However, it was also stated that the strategy

was a process in which the existing strategic ideas needed to be coordinated, assessed and reviewed by bureaucrats in the organization. The next dimension is the dimension of military administration, namely that joint efforts of military institutions including the Air Force prepare strength and readiness to be mobilized.

The second category is "war proper," military operation by displaying problems in command that are influenced by different geography, shifting tasks, or being blocked by strong enemies and being subject to high time discipline (Gray, 1999). This dimension describes the preparation and or implementation of military operations from a strategy; this dimension shows the reality of the relationship between strategy and tactics. Strategy even though a brilliant idea will only become a discourse if no one is running it, this dimension shows the reality of the application of strategy itself. Besides that, the existence of command or command is a dimension that refers to the quality of military and political leadership.

A strategy according to Luttwak (1987) in Gray (1999) is a plan that must be successful against an enemy that is not natural, through tactics, implementation, strategic, and moral-political dialogue because strategy is not a game against nature, but activities are carried out to secure own advantage or reject the benefits of enemies who are motivated and can threaten and hinder. According to Peter Wilson (1997) in Gray (1999), the idea of strategy can be divided into three timeframes, too early, late, or on time. While planning, implementation or every process of the strategy has a time dimension that limits and regulates it. In the context of the development of the Main Weapons Tool System (Alutsista), the strategy can be interpreted as fine art or concept in the effort to develop and empower the AU Air Defense System based on the area and potential threats to realize a strong and independent Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the TNI Doctrine, Tri Dharma Eka Kamandala abbreviated as "Tridek", the strategy of national defense is to prevent, prevent, and overcome threats and disturbances to the integrity of the nation and state in its various forms and manifestations by 1) Developing the capacity of the TNI as the main component in the form ready reinforcements and reserves so that they have high preparedness and immediate response. 2) Building the capacity of the people to defend the state so that it has high and productive universality and versatility and can carry out popular resistance continuously (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b).

For the Indonesian people, war is the last resort and is only done if all efforts are peacefully unsuccessful. For this reason, the national defense strategy needs to be prepared by taking into account three basic elements, namely forming, responding and preparing (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b, 2015a).

- 1) Forming, namely a strategy that can create and shape national and international security environments that can guarantee national interests to support regional stability, reduce and eliminate threats, prevent conflicts and aggression and other acts of violence.
- 2) Respond, namely a strategy that can respond to various spectrums of the crisis to eliminate threats and risks to national interests.
- 3) Preparing, namely a strategy capable of preparing a defense to face an uncertain future and organizing defense by utilizing technological advances to protect national interests.

In addition, the national defense strategy is formulated in three proportional, balanced and coordinated basic substance strategies, namely: first, the objectives to be achieved are to protect

and protect the sovereignty of the State, the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and protect the safety of all nations which are translated into five strategic objectives. Second, defense resources are used to achieve the goals and objectives to be achieved, namely mobilizing military defense that is integrated and synergized with the Nir-military defense. Third, how to use resources to achieve strategic goals or objectives, namely planning, preparing, and implementing a strong and high defensive state defense system by Indonesian understanding of peace and war (“Keputusan Menteri Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Nomor Kep/435/MV/2016 date 15 December 2016 with State Defense Strategy,” 2016).

Based on the above understanding, it can be argued that the potential threat largely determines the strategy of the Air Force in the future, especially from other countries through the air media to the sovereignty of the country, the integrity of the NKRI territory and the safety of the entire Indonesian nation. The implementation of the BBC strategy by the Indonesian Air Force is one form of alternative defense strategy to maintain the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia.

The purpose of writing this article is to give an overview of the Bare Base Concept (BBC) as an alternative strategy for the Indonesian Air Force in addressing potential threats in the Republic of Indonesia airspace. The benefit of this paper is to be able to know the Hypothetical model of the BBC's strategy as an alternative strategy for the Air Force in carrying out the task of upholding state sovereignty in the air. To answer the problems formulated, normative research methods are used. According to Mamudji & Soekanto (1985) that a legal study is called normative if it is done by examining library materials only or based on secondary data.

DISCUSSION

Existing condition of TNI-AU Alutsista. The main tool of the air weapons system (Alutsista) owned by the Indonesian National Army, Air Force (TNI-AU) currently consists of various types, which can be abbreviated as Cutter-Fruit, including Cruise Missile (CM), Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV), Tactical Airto-Surface Missile (TASM), Electronic Warfare (electronic Warfare), Artillery Mortar (RAM) Rockets, Fixed Wing Aircraft (Rotary Winged Aircraft), Rotary Wing Aircraft (Helicopters), Unmanned Combat Air Vehicles (UCAV), Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition, and Reconnaissance (ISTAR), Tactical / Theater Ballistic Missiles (TBM). Meanwhile, special air defense equipment manned by the TNI AU includes various types of aircraft, radar, missiles and PSU (cannon). Meanwhile, special air defense equipment manned by the TNI AU includes various types of aircraft, radar, missiles and PSU (cannon).

Regarding quantity and quality, the defense equipment's defense system material experienced much decline regarding ability. Whereas the strength of the Indonesian Air Force defense equipment was on fighter planes, transport planes, helicopters, training aircraft, radar and missiles. The condition of the TNI AU defense system in general (“Keputusan Menteri Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Nomor Kep/435/MV/2016 tanggal 15 Desember 2016 tentang Strategi Pertahanan Negara,” 2016) is as follows:

- 1) Aircraft of various types.

- (a) Fighter aircraft, the power of 106 aircraft.
 - (b) Transport aircraft, 51 aircraft strength.
 - (c) The helicopter, the power of 39 helicopters.
 - (d) Training aircraft, 60 aircraft strength.
 - (e) PTTA (Unmanned Aircraft), the power of 4 aircraft.
- 1) Radar, the strength of 20 units.
 - 2) QW-3 missiles, the power of 273 sets.
 - 3) PSU Cannon (Air Attack Defender), power six setbacks.

Potential Threat of the Republic of Indonesia. The threat is essentially every business and activity, both from within the country and abroad, considered to endanger the sovereignty of the country, the integrity of the country and the safety of all nations (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik, 2012; Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, n.d., 2015b; “Keputusan Menteri Pertahanan Republik Indonesia Nomor Kep/435/MV/2016 date 15 December 2016 with State Defense Strategy,” 2016). Sources of threats can come from within and outside the country and are carried out by state and non-state actors, national, regional and global. Impacts that arise include all aspects of social conditions consisting of ideology, politics, economics, social culture, defense, and security.

Threats originating from abroad are inseparable from conspiracy theories (Antara, 2013; Hadiprayitno, 2003). Conspiracy is defined as a conspiracy or evil conspiracy. Conspiracy theories are usually used to explain a symptom or event whose facts have not been revealed, but when the facts can be identified, the theories are irrelevant. With conspiracy theories, many claims that important historical events occurred because of the role of conspirators behind the scenes who conspired. Robert Dreyfuss (in Mbai, 2014), cited the conspiracy practices carried out by the United States and Britain by utilizing Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin as the fundamental movement and its host of Islamic right organizations to fight Nasser, the leader of Arab Nationalism.

Judging from the source, the threats faced by Indonesia can come from both foreign and domestic, both military (aggression and non-aggression) and non-military threats. While based on actors, threats can be made by state actors and non-state actors. These threats can systematically threaten the sovereignty of the country, the integrity of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and the safety of all nations (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, 2015b, 2015a; Mbai, 2014).

Based on the threat theory, it can be argued that in the perspective of threats to the Unitary Republic of Indonesia can take the form of 1) military invasion, 2) territorial violations or territorial claims, and 3) theft of national resources. Meanwhile, the potential threat can be seen regarding 1) the disposition (title/placement) of the power of the defense system in neighboring countries, 2) the composition of the defense equipment of neighboring countries, and 3) the territorial boundaries of neighboring countries. Also, the economic interests of third countries in the Asia Pacific are also a potential threat to Indonesia which is rich in natural resources.

Application of Bare Base Concept (BBC). Starting from some forms and targets of threats to the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, the potential threat through airspace is quite large national jurisdiction. The strength and ability of air defense equipment in the form of radar as the eyes of Indonesia are minimal with the vast territory of the Republic of Indonesia, affecting the ability to see and detect than the movement of air through the air media. Illegal trading activities of weapons, explosives and drugs and other dangerous goods can be carried out through the air media. Dropping enemy forces in large numbers, in addition to the sea can also be done through air media (airplanes).

Faced with a variety of considerations, especially the potential threat factors in the Republic of Indonesia territory and the limited capability of defense equipment, the Air Force developed the BBC, which is a concept of airbase preparation with minimal support and facilities that can be rapidly increased so that it can support optimal air operations. The ability, strength and title/placement of defense equipment at the Air Force is currently faced with the tasks carried out and the extent of Indonesia's territory, but in general, it is still very far from the ideal conditions expected (Kementerian Pertahanan Republik Indonesia, n.d.). The ability of defense equipment from the aspect of air defense referred to at this time is as follows:

- 1) *Control of the Air.* Air control, which is the ability to control surface and under security without being threatened or attacked by an opposing party, cannot yet be implemented optimally due to limited defense equipment and weapons.
- 2) *Airstrikes.* The ability to use air power significantly based on suppression and destruction capabilities to carry out attacks from the air against targets, both static and dynamic in air, sea, and land is still limited due to the limited ability to support tankers, defense equipment, and weapons.
- 3) *Air Support.* The ability to support the operation of land, sea and air forces that are / will carry out operations to successfully carry out your friends' operational tasks cannot yet be implemented optimally due to the limitations of defense equipment.
- 4) *Information Exploitation.* The ability to utilize and utilize information through aerospace space to obtain information excellence is still very limited.

The implementation of the BBC's strategy for the TNI AU is very appropriate to deal with increasingly complex threats, including threats in national airspace for the sake of the establishment of State sovereignty and the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. BBC implementation is carried out with consideration of limitations, both facilities, especially defense equipment.

Bare Base Concept (BBC) is an alternative defense model in supporting air operations to protect the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia from various threats, both threats of foreign military invasion, airspace violations, and countermeasures for the theft of national resources. BBC can also be said to be a tentative air defense system spread throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, both small type airbases (even Air Force Posts) which have limited infrastructure, such as Hang Nadin Airport in Batam, Mutiara Airport Palu, Central Sulawesi and Selaru Southeast Maluku as well as several airports that have the Air Force Post.

Likewise, the "C" Type Air Force Base (Lanud) that is owned in almost every province can be quickly upgraded to operational support facilities, let alone considered to have a strategic

location in supporting air operations in the context of national defense. This can be seen as the tension that has occurred in the Ambalat Block region which claims to be Malaysia's sovereignty. In this way, the Air Force Base with the "C" type status at that time was used as an alternate base to support air operations, so that the Air Force Base facilities were quickly equipped to support the operation of the aircraft used for operations, both fighter aircraft, transport (for personnel mobilization, logistics, and other support) and reconnaissance and helicopter aircraft. Until finally Tarakan Air Force Base changed the type to type "B" which has various facilities to support air operations.

Tarakan Air Force Base, like other Air Force Bases, both "C" and "B" types do not have airplanes that are stationary at all times, but the aircraft is only temporary, after the condition is declared safe, the aircraft will return to the home base (main base), such as at Halim Perdana Kusuma Air Force Base, Iswahjudi Madiun Air Force Base, Abdulrachman Saleh Malang Air Force Base, Sultan Hasanuddin Makassar Air Force Base, Atang Sanjaya Bogor Air Force Base and Pekanbaru Riau Air Force Base.

Bare Base Concept (BBC) can also be said to be an alternative concept that is very efficient and effective on the use of minimal weapons defense equipment that Indonesia has, because if every Air Force Base which is considered to be a defense equipment unit in the form of fighter, reconnaissance or transport, would require Very large. This is because not only is the value of the aircraft very expensive, but also the supporting facilities, such as maintenance, maintenance, preparation of spare parts, simulator tools to the apron and aircraft hangars which all require relatively large costs.

CONCLUSION

Faced with the potential threat in Indonesia's national airspace, the application of the Bare Base Concept (BBC) is an alternative strategy for the Indonesian Air Force. Bare Base Concept is a strategic step in preparing the air base with the support of facilities and minimal guarding, which can be increased at any time so that it can support the implementation of air operations optimally. Therefore, it is suggested to the government and the House of Representatives (DPR) that the budget for Air Force Base facilities can be increased or enlarged from before so that the fulfillment of facilities for increasing the air base status of the Air Force can be realized. Likewise, the implementation of the BBC's strategy as an alternative strategy for the TNI AU can be realized to overcome the potential threat to Indonesia's national airspace.

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